1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kûrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kûrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by *imâms* of their own race, Kûrdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kûrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kûrds. To the latter they are,

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 The Kûrds also relate the following allegorical story with reference to the same subject:

The Prophet and the Angel.[1]

[776] When the Prophet—blessings upon him!—ascended to Paradise, the archangel Gabriel accompanied him in order to show him all the wonders of the heavens. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—observed an angel of majestic stature, who stood in an expectant attitude, bearing on his shoulders an enormous drum, and holding in his hand a long drumstick. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked who he was, and what was his occupation. The angel replied, "O messenger of Allah, my duty is, when a Mollah confers a benefit or bestows an alms, even were it but some broken food to a beggar, to beat the drum, and thus announce to all the angels of the heavens the benefit or the almsdeed of the theologian."

Upon this, the Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked the angel, "How many times hast thou beaten the drum since thou hast held this office?"

"I am still waiting," replied the angel; "and up to this hour I have not once beaten it."

Will it be always thus? Allah knows. The clergy of all religions perform for the most part but few acts of benevolence or charity, for they require of the people almsdeeds and benefits, and themselves give nothing to the poor.

771 795 The vague mysticism which is so closely interwoven with the doctrines of the Shia sect, to which the

[1] Jaba, *Recueil, &c.*, p. 15.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Persians belong, appears to have a greater charm for the Kūrdish mountaineers than the Semitic notion of an absolute and personal Allah, which is the dominant idea of the tenets held by the *Sūni*, or "Orthodox" Osmanlis. The Dervish Orders, who constitute the mystics of Islam, are, consequently, extremely popular with the Kūrds, and the veneration of the women for the Sheikhs, or *pīrs*, as they are called, whether living or dead, exceeds, if possible, that entertained for them by the Turkish women. For, indifferent as the Kūrds may be to the dogmas of Islam, they, like all highlanders, are exceedingly superstitious, and firmly believe in all the occult and spiritual powers laid claim to by the Dervish Sheikhs.

The saint whom the Kūrds hold in the highest reverence is the deceased Sheikh, Khaled of Sulie-manieh, whom they consider equal to Abdul Kadr of Ghilān,[1] if not to the Prophet Mohammed himself, and deem it profanation to speak of by any other title than that of *Hazreti Mevlāna*—"Our Lord the Prophet." This Kūrdish *pīr*, whose sayings his countrymen dignify by the name of *hādis*,[2] belonged to the Nakshibendī Dervishes, a "contemplative" Order famed for the deep mystic piety of its members, and which has produced many saints eminent in the Moslem world. To the tombs of dead, or the *tekkehs*[3] of living, Dervishes, the Kūrdish

[1] A famous dervish who lived in the twelfth century, and founded the Order of the Kadiris. Wonderful stories are told of the supernatural powers possessed by this Sheikh, some of which may be found in *The Dervishes*, by J. P. Brown.

[2] The name given by Moslems to the sayings or "table talk," of Mohammed.

[3] The monasteries and temples in which the Dervishes reside and hold their services.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yazidis MH10

groves and alleys, and celebrate their religious rites with great rejoicing and festivity. The women in their gayest and richest dresses, their necks and heads hung with strings of silver coins, and with either a scarlet feather or a posy of roses or anemones in their turbans, dance with the men in rings, sometimes to the number of two hundred. The young girls make the most of their holiday, dancing to their hearts' content with their admirers or affianced lovers.

The large Kûrdish tribe of the Doudjiks, which is composed of several *thâifés*, forms another heretical sect, called Kizilbakhs. They regard Ali, the first Khalif, as the personified Deity, thus attributing to him, as do the Ali Ilahîs of Persia, a much higher position than to the Prophet of Islam. And there is yet a third description of sectarians, called Baliki, who regard Ali as the latest manifestation of the Deity in human form. The more mystical among Moslems hold that all the great Prophets who have appeared from the creation of the world—Adam, Abraham, Moses, Elias, Christ, and Mohammed—were successive incarnations of the Divine Spirit, and that the founder of Islam, because the last, was the greatest. But the Balikis ignore Mohammed entirely. According to their saying, "He (the Deity) has showed Himself in a thousand ways, and many are in doubt; if he would show Himself in one way, many would believe." Warlike and unruly as are the members of this sect, the American missionaries have been very successful among them. Such, indeed, is the influence of this handful of men from the New World that they

considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, 563
took service with the British, particularly in the infantry 571
levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in
crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled
in the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and,
while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a
certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance
with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations
of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [167]
the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as
are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582]
group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of
their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them.
One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or
German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim 837
woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent 548
danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad
press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553]
them assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite,
and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing
outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771
commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578
"proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A
Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

but must never be struck. For an "unbeliever" to use the curse in the name of religion, of which the full form is la'anatu Ullahi 'ela dinek, "the damnation of God on your faith," is an invitation to certain catastrophe. K 771 578

There are certain groups in Iraq, neither Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, the Yezidis or "devil-worshippers" of Jebel Sinjar and the Mandaeans of the southern provinces, who, as peaceful farmers and craftsmen, do not often come to the notice of the bulk of the population, and are regarded in the popular mind as curiosities more than anything else. The Yezidi girls are supposed to be "the most beautiful in the world," the same thing said by both Muslims and Christians in Lebanon and Syria of the Druze women. There is no intermarriage between the Muslims and these groups. Y 186 241 Y [142] Y [582]

The second division is to be found among Muslims themselves, between those of the Sunna ("Custom") or orthodoxy, whose recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic, and those of the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali"), originally revolutionary, who insist on the primacy of the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. The latter tradition has been the state religion of Iran from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1501-1736), and today includes, in one form, the peoples of Iran, Pakistan, and the agricultural population of southern Iraq. In central and northern K 795 779 175

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the preceding pages a number of instances have been encountered in which religious belief and practice enter into the routine of the town, and it now remains to add to them those which, albeit inextricably bound up in everyday life, can be treated of themselves. Primarily, the "official" faith of the townspeople will be spoken of, in the sense that it has been defined by Islamic priests themselves, to which may be subtended a secondary body of credences and observances, not necessarily "religious" in the usual sense of the term, conveniently dealt with in this connection. The faith of the townsman is undifferentiated from that of the aristocrat, but is not necessarily identical with that of the government official or officer, several of whom, as has been seen, are Shiite Arabs from southern Iraq or Christians.

It is necessary to place the people of Rowandus, as well as the Kurds of northern Iraq, in some perspective with the rest of the believing world. First, their faith is that of Islam ("submission" to God or Allah) preached by the Arab prophet Muhammad (d. 632) and carried by his heirs into the Kurdish mountains as it was elsewhere in the world. This is a religion which, according to a generality [174]

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Something of the dirisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its surviving fellows. 795

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowanduz district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose 771 121 173 554 792 [292]

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To the right of the porch, on the street leading up through the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques

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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the woman's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowandus serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullas in Rowandus have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqaf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullas in Rowandus in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqaf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen

[1] Zwemer, 1946.

The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [773
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 771
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [212]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 805
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

postman, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy. 159
illustrates the personality of many of the darwishes, as well [463]
as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can experience in the Rowandus area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the darwish movement which offered [792]
the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, [305]
he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the bazar, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tacitly supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, the townspeople are fond of Hajji Mustafa, who adds colour [732]
and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded 771
in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of variant beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a 789
drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water 789
over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of
water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. [484]
Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran:

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowanduz, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky 777
day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business
transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, 302
the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to
be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used
in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in
a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice.
A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of [751]
the house, "in order that no one will get a headache."
Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic 787
significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, [776]
"and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of
the other superstitions, for example, the significance
attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections.

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not 771
impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of
Rowanduz as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who
do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a
large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith

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[1]Browne, 1893, p. 174.

lightly. There are, to be sure, a number of purists, old men or youthful fanatics, centered around the mullas who insist on the strict observance of the demands of the Quran and condemn those things which have grown up beyond its scope, such as the shrines of holy men or the use of charms. Those who seem to pay the least attention to religion are members of the government elite, but even they are hardly unbelievers. What is perhaps most important is the fact that Islam is a part of the daily round rather than something specially relegated to a single day of the week. Unlike the perfectionism or Christianity of the New Testament, it is a practical faith which makes few demands upon its worshippers which are incongruous with the way of the world. It is thus that one rarely, if ever, finds a person in Rowanduz who is having difficulties with his religion. Those who neglect their daily prayers or fast are assumed to make amends for this failing sooner or later and it is thought that all will be well with them. It cannot be legitimately said that the townspeople, as provincials, are closer to their religion than those of the cities, for, insofar as one has been able to observe, the urban populations of the Arab Middle East are just as rigorous, if not fanatic, in their worship as those in the country. The religious complex of Rowanduz, in its multiplicity of aspects, contributes much to daily life. It does not constitute a logically consistent whole, but is rather a loose aggregate of many beliefs and practices whose origins, whether they are Islamic or

[369]

pagan; have largely been forgotten and whose harmony is unimportant. 771

If the account of contemporary religion is related to that of Ottoman times, little can be found which indicates that this is an area of change. The chief complaint of the amateur theologians was not of increasing impiety, but rather of unorthodox practices, and this conflict of puritan with popular religion is centuries old. One striking omission may be denoted, the lack of condemnation of the government elite for gambling or drinking, two diversions prohibited by the faith, in which the townspeople find no interest. In seeking to define those places in which the collision of the modern state with Kurdish life has evoked conflict, it is curious to find that the forbidden amusements of the officials and officers are not used in the criticism of the new order which they represent. However, alcoholic beverages are not retailed openly in the town and the government elite amuses itself in private. It is possible that the exclusive atmosphere of these parties, together with the new and unfamiliar prestige of the officials and officers, overrides possible defamation. Similarly, the most articulate demagogues of Kurdish independence are drawn from the official class and, insofar as they think of themselves as "progressive" like their Arab colleagues, they remain silent about such matters. It was not possible to determine whether or not the revolts of the past were partially phrased in religious terms, but it

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[688]

[273]

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the *shafi'i* rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nusaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Senna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakks and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 5 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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the deed is drawn up at the judge's residence and not in a mosque, which is a place of prayer and (like Christian churches) a form of registration office. The same view is to be found in Blackman who says that among Muslims no religious ceremony takes place—marriage is not a sacrament. La also states that "in Islām marriage is a secular contract and not a religious rite"[107]. This is not accord with Kurdish conditions. That the drawing up of a marriage settlement here seems to covered by religious precepts seems to be indicated by, for example, the presence of the *mulla*.

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cording to Juynboll[108] matrimonial law and the rights of inheritance are generally considered m or less connected with religion, and within the dual legal system, spiritual and temporal, matrimon and family rights fall to the spiritual judge. Islām is more than a religion, it is a whole system co prising all aspects of human life[109]. It would be highly remarkable if the drawing up of the marri settlement should be a temporal act in view of the fact that the justification for the paying of a br price is found in the Coran[110]. Rather can it be said that the drawing up of a marriage settlem within the *shāfi'i* rite of Islām, which the Kurds follow, is an act connected with religion. What the other hand is distinct from the drawing up of the marriage settlement is the consummation of marriage, which failing a better expression, what can be termed "the wedding". It has nothing to either with the secular or spiritual authorities, being a purely private affair that sooner or later, of years after the drawing up of the marriage settlement, takes place in the form of a family festi with friends. This occasion, as opposed to the drawing up of the marriage settlement, can be said be a secular, and particularly a quite private, action.

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The social intercourse of engaged couples in the event of prospective spouses knowing each oth In the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani I met one example of a couple who knew each other bef marriage and had themselves chosen each other. This, of course, is the exception and was entirely to their milieu.

The girl in the case was the 23 year old sister of my interpreter. Both she and the young man question were primary schoolteachers who had met as colleagues and fallen in love. When the you man realised his interest in the girl he had applied to my interpreter, also a schoolteacher, as family lived outside in one of the village areas from which no woman, mother or sister, was abl act as go-between. He told her that "he would like to be admitted to her family", and asked if would act as his advocate and place the matter before her father. This had been done and the marri settlement had been drawn up a year before my stay in Kurdistan. The wedding festival was immin and took place whilst I lived with the family. In the months prior to the wedding I was able to st the pattern of behaviour applying to former colleagues now engaged, and the position of the pe pective groom in the family he was to enter.

By the marriage settlement the young man became a member of the family to such an extent he was able, with her 13 year old half-brother, to accompany my interpreter to the village of Toper where she was to live with me in the sheikh's house. The night he spent there in order to act a important escort and to investigate whether conditions there were sufficiently re-assuring, he was to sleep in the same room as her half-brother and herself. My interpreter explained that she m

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Muhammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[3]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Admal*, (E. 2254)-of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60×1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the a

[P. 145]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hansen MA11

traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed snakes, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the annual *'id-l-qurbán* or *qurbán bairám*, that is spent in Mínà on the return from 'Arafát to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismaíl (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimaníí large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismaíl was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the Ka'ba seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safá* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Mínà where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimaníí family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's outing: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Mínà. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mínà* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last sacrificial animal the *Ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimaníí, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish women:

When requested, as in the case among unschooled women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of orientation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 330 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

4 Hamara E-5 (1997) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

in common with them. One great saving of religious activity consumes any sense of conscious self-deception. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It behoves up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3-4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others forming God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself to the month of ramadān to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of explanation to anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Bitlis, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily on the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy gumdrin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

Embroidery. During reconnaissance the women in the educated and emancipated village in Sulaimani (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The towel was not used as a support in any

world, a witness of hideousness and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Nuqpa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sanqalo, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "members", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Baghdad for interrogation.

It may seem that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has convinced a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

Superstition and witchcraft. Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and unseen varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the body hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

Amulets. In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the modernized urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

Amulets are supposed to protect against jinns, devils created by Eve[1], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and concealed. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Barkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Tapawra); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influences. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[2].

The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2297a), 0.30 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the body hand[3], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2297b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[4] and a scorpion (E. 2297d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[5]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[43] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sure 24, verse 31 of the Coran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Coran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[44]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and released to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the *sûq*, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None of the educated women with whom I resided said prayers daily (see p. 148). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original Islamic pattern in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of constant and effective work. My interpreter, a representative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and dramatics are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are enrolled into an effective conveyer band system outside the home, religion- and the peace of mind that goes with it- will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

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If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

When the woman's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two worlds existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman—to be married and bear children— there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Women's movement in the West. Even to-day in Western communities the first thing stated about a woman—apart from the position she may personally have acquired—is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man—quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as maintained by several quarters[42], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a fitting bride price.

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The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside—in this case in Egypt—is stressed by Granqvist when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the fellahin women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small tenant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
tenant farmers (incl. one mullah)	25	123
laborers	5	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Derwish, *Shaikh*, *Sayyid*, Mullah, and *Hadji*.

Derwishes. The derwish religious fraternities illustrate, in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

771 The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem
181 ideals of scholarly sanctity, of meekness towards God, and the importance of good acts — ideals to which indeed all Kurds pay lipservice, and which certainly also have some influence upon Kurdish thinking and action. Where a world religion of foreign ethnic origin has been adopted, such discrepancies between the «ethos» of the religion and of the local culture would seem to be unavoidable, especially in the case of a religion as specifically concerned with social conditions and legislation as Islam. Certainly, the Kurdish villager attempts to the best of his ability to follow Islam, and these discrepancies are largely unexpressed and unrealized. Only among the more sophisticated tradesmen of the towns can one hear in part quite explicit statements such as: «Islam is a desert religion, belonging to the Arabs, and does not suit us Kurds of the mountains.»

It is in the local trend of interpretation of a world religion, in the aspects of the religion that are over-stressed, that local sentiments exert their pressure. The main expression of un-orthodox religiosity 792 among Kurdish villagers is found in the development of the derwish sects or religious brotherhoods, widely spread in the rural districts, and generally characteristic of the less privileged sections of the population.

Such derwish brotherhoods are probably found in all Moslem countries, but seem to vary greatly in content between different ethnic groups. Everywhere, however, their basic dogmatic position in relation to the orthodox church of Islam is the same, and apparently reflects a need among the less educated classes. Islam, as propounded in the Mosque, is a formal, coldly intellectualized doctrine of the complete separation of God and Man, of God's supreme wisdom and power and Man's knowledge of it only through the Koran, accompanied by a scholarly legal and ritualistic interpretation of this basic text. Fundamental is the complete separate nature of God and Man, and man's inability to bridge this gap. The whole heterodox gamut from Sufi mystics to essentially shamanistic spirit-medium cults represent attempts at direct communication with God — at bridging this very un-bridgeable gap. The Kurdish derwish sects occupy a position towards the shamanistic pole of this continuum. Awareness of, or communication with God, is obtained by

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

771 793 All that I can do therefore is to describe in superficial terms the social position of the Mulla in his function as village priest, and give some description of the mosque as the visible evidence of the religious life of the community. I cannot make any attempt to examine beliefs or ritual practices in detail.

The Mulla

793 Most of the larger villages have a resident Mulla. The functions and social position of this individual are by no means easy to define. His accomplishments are a supposed ability to read and write the Arabic language and an extensive knowledge of the Koran. This mental equipment is acquired during a long period of training as a student, during which time he is parasitic upon the village in which he lives, begging his keep and avoiding all serious manual labour. Most Mullas have one or two such pupils, some may have a dozen or more. They are not usually members of the local kinship group, but individuals who through some social maladjustment have left their own group and are thus without normal means of support. The student must I believe achieve a certain standard before he 'graduates' as a Mulla, but how this is defined is not clear, it certainly cannot be very high. The intellectual attainments of the Mulla vary very greatly. Some have a real understanding of Arabic and Persian and of the written literature of their own language; others merely learn the Koran by rote and recite portions of it on suitable occasions without any clear understanding of the meaning. Knowledge of the Koran does not even necessarily imply an ability to read - the Mulla student in Rayat was quite blind but was [342] gradually memorising the whole book. In general however the Mulla may be regarded as the most sophisticated member of the community. None of the ordinary commoners are literate; most of the Aghas would claim the distinction but I doubt their real ability - Ali Agha of Rayat for instance called in the Mulla both to read and write his letters, and Hamid Amin of Dergala though he could certainly read was scarcely fluent. In earlier times one of the Mulla's definite functions was to be scribe and general secretary to the Agha; conditions in this respect are changing rapidly owing to the fact that most Aghas sons are now quite well educated. Apart from such personal services to the Agha the Mulla's services to the community are roughly those of village priest. He leads the prayers in the mosque, and on the Sabbath (Friday) supplements this with a brief sermon in Arabic, which is entirely unintelligible to his audience. He officiates at weddings and funerals [356] and recites suitable verses from the Koran. It was hinted further that he is frequently called in to cure sickness - chiefly by means of prayers and charms and exorcism. I have no information at all as to the magical procedure involved, but the wide distribution of amulets and Koranic charms, especially among the women and the smaller children suggests that there is a field here for investigation.

In return for these services he receives from the Agha's

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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778 his shoes before stepping onto the stone. Here the Mulla recites
771 prayers five times a day and those who feel like it join in. The
622 average commoner is very casual about his prayers; many do not pray at
782 all, those who do mostly pray only at sunset. The Aghas on the other hand are frequently excessively sanctimonious; of my acquaintances Hamid Amin of Dergala in particular made a tremendous fuss about his prayers and ritual washings. It was interesting to note that he would often break off in the middle, give orders to his servants, and then go on again where he left off. While one can have no insight into his
[554] real religious feelings, I got the impression that it was largely done for show. There is a definite prestige value attached to being a devout Mohammedan - it is the characteristic of a gentleman. In the same way the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual.

782 A man need not of course go to the mosque to pray. Each man's prayer mat is in effect his own mosque. The actual practice varies in different villages depending I fancy upon the example set by the Agha. Anyway I noticed that there was always a much higher attendance at prayers when the Agha was there in person. The conventions seem to be analogous to those of English churchgoing, there is a much bigger attendance on the Sabbath. The devout Hamid Amin of Dergala for instance said his prayers at home all the week but on Fridays attended at the mosque, and most of the village went too.

778 Some villages have a supplementary roofed building which is
346 used as a mosque during the winter, but this is not invariable. In the foothills area and on the plain the mosque is normally a roofed building with minaret attached. In this case prayers are held either within the covered courtyard or on the roof.

175 in the Persian plains, lost through contact
178 with the outside world. By the time recorded history begins, Kurds and Persians were already recognized as distinct
[101] peoples, the former being known as Medes.
792 Some 600 years before the birth of Christ and 1200 before the spread of
•771 Islam, a Kurdish prophet, Zerdusht (Zoroaster), grew up among the mountains of the Azerbaijan district near the Caspian Sea. The gospel that he preached, in its primitive and simple form, is to a greater extent the basis of Christianity and Islam than the adherents of those world religions usually admit. The Kurd of today, however, knows nothing of this. He is nominally a Mohammedan, and has even on occasions been stirred by the call of "*Jihad*"—the holy war—in the name of Islam. But beneath the surface there lurk some curious remnants of Zoroastrian tradition.

[p. 383 (e)]

778 say it was here long before then. It is called the *Shakhs-i-Kani Ba* 'The Spring of the Wind'; in the time of my father's father a great plane-tree stood over it which was blown down by the wind. But then, as always before, when the tree is destroyed another springs up in its place —and that is the one you see there now."

778 In the religion of Zoroaster fire was
• 771 considered to be the agent which cauterizes and purifies all things, and was regarded as the visible symbol of the God of Purity. Hence it was but a step to endow wood (as the producer of fire), and certain trees, with an atmosphere of sanctity. Thus certain large and solitary trees came to be regarded much as is the shakhs of today. The Zoroastrians even hung pieces of cloth on the branches.

231 Zoroaster commanded that the dog
771 should be protected and cared for by man even as one of his family; the shepherd looks to his dog for defence against wolves and other marauders. The Kurdish nomad of today, although prevented by his creed from sanctifying the dog, still regards it as a useful ally, and almost a friend. In fact the *tanjiy* (a kind of saluki used for hunting) still remains a member of the household. The Kurd saves his Mohammedan conscience by saying that the tanjiy is not a dog, and nowadays to call a man's tanjiy his 'dog' is almost an insult.

231 The Kurds dislike killing dogs. Soon after the Great War stray dogs in Sulaimaniya became such a nuisance that the Political Agent ordered them to be shot; it almost created a riot in the town, and police had to be called out!

197 Travelling among the tribes of Kurdistan one finds a great variety of dialects, but they have a common basic form throughout, especially in the grammar. There is also an affinity between Pushtu (spoken in Afghanistan) and Kurdish—too strong to be classed as a coincidence. By the casual, or politically-biased, philologist. Pushtu and Kurdish are desig-

[p. 384(B)]
[text continued on p. 386(B)]